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BOKO HARAM AND THE POST-COLD WAR CONFLICTS

BOKO HARAM Y LOS CONFLICTOS DE LA NUEVA GUERRA FRÍA

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Abstract

Since the end of the Cold War, the dynamics of the conflicts have changed; the post-cold war conflicts are multicausal, pluralistic and multidimensional, this kind of conflicts are called "new wars" and "wars of the 21st century", and have some specific characteristics, which will be used to analyze the conflict occurred between Boko Haram and the Nigerian state, in order to decide if the current Nigerian war is, or is not, a "new war" and why.

Keywords

Boko Haram – War – Nigeria

Resumen

Desde el fin de la Guerra Fría las dinámicas de los conflictos han cambiado; los conflictos post-guerra fría son multicausales, plurales y multidimensionales, esta clase de conflictos son llamados "nuevas guerras" o "guerras del siglo XXI" y tienen unas características específicas, las cuales serán usadas para analizar el conflicto dado entre Boko Haram y el estado de Nigeria, con el fin de decidir si la actual guerra nigeriana es, o no, una "nueva guerra" y por qué.

Palabras Claves

Boko Haram – Guerra – Nigeria

Introduction

After the Cold War, Several changes were made in the International System-, one of the most outstanding changes globally was the evolution of the wars that were no longer exclusively interstates. With these changes, along with the dynamics, the actors, the ways of funding, the causes and the geopolitics of war, a transformation started.

To be more specific, after the cold war period, the "new wars" or also named "XXI century wars" were born, such wars are those that occur from the 60´s until now; these can be classified into different types of conflicts[1].

1.- Armed conflict: occur between an illegal armed group and a State.

2.- Nonstate conflict: occur between two armed actors that don't have direct links with a State.

3.- Sided violence against civilians: State unnecessary attacks on the civilian population.

If we analyze this kind of conflicts according to the "zones of peace, zones of turmoil" theory which states that the conflicts aren't equally distributed in the world; there are areas where the number of armed conflicts are very low and there are other zones that are more likely to have a lot of wars in short periods of time[2]. According to this idea, we could say that the zones of turmoil that existed before in Europe and West Asia moved from there to the periphery; Central and South America, Middle East and Africa; the latter is the zone that have more turmoil right now.

In the "XXI century wars" a recent case in Africa is the Nigerian case, that could be classified into an armed conflict because it occurs between the Nigerian State and a non-state armed group, named Boko Haram.

Although the creation of this group were only 13 years ago, and the current Nigerian conflict, began 5 years ago, it can be seen like a process that have taken place since 1960, right at the end of the Cold War, when Nigeria and other African countries were able to be recognized as independent States in the International System. After this moment "the Biafra war" started a civil war in Nigeria between the north and the south. It was the beginning of a non-stop violence process in this African country, which is still happening. The development of this process will be analyzed in depth later.

Even though the process that created Boko Haram and a complex and deep war like the one currently occurring in Nigeria is product of a very long process that started after the Cold War, the following question arises: is the current conflict between this illegal actor and the Nigerian State a "new war"? To answer this question, we are going to see each of the characteristics that define this kind of conflicts and make an analysis of how many are reflected in the Nigerian war. After this, we will try to study and explain how this conflict affects the relationship between Nigeria and Latin America and we will end with some brief conclusions.

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[1] C. García, Las "nuevas guerras" del siglo XXI. Tendencias de la conflictividad armada contemporanea. Working Papers, 3-25 (2013).
[2] Singer, M., & Wildavsky, A. The real world order: Zones of peace, zones of turmoil. Chatham House Publishers, 1993.

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1.- Historical framework: Boko Haram: origins and importance in the current Nigerian society

The historical framework of this research is based on a revision about the history and origins of Boko Haram, the creation and evolution of the group and the role it plays in the Nigerian society, both politically and economically.

1.1.- Biafra war

Since the independence in 1960, Nigeria has been designated as a plurinational State; it means that it is a unified state in terms of territory and government, in which there are a lot of different nations, distinguished by their ethnicity or religion. In fact, Nigeria has more than 250 different ethnic groups. This cultural diversity is more a weakness than a strength for Nigeria, in fact, when a country has so many cultures that are so different inhabiting in the same territory, the opinion and the power could be easily fragmented due to disputes between ethnicities, that could begin with struggles over territories or because groups have historic rivalries. This was a determining factor in the years following independence, because thanks to this internal fights, the country never achieved any kind of stability or a government that was self-supporting and able to satisfy the needs of all the ethnics groups equitably.

In May, 1967, the country was divided into twelve states that emerged from the four regions in which Nigeria was originally divided, the old southwest region was in disagreement with the creation of states by decree, and under the leadership of Odumegwu Ojukwu, this region declared itself as the independent State of Biafra. The federal government assumed this like an act of illegal secession but tried to negotiate in a pacific way with the secessionists in different meetings that didn't work. Finally the government decided to stop this independent movement using the violence.

The civil war between the government and the Biafra secessionist movement started in July, 1967. The conflict lasted 3 years and left more than a thousand deads, it counted with the intervention of Portugal and France that were trying to reoccupy the territory by helping the rebels, it doesn't work to the European countries, because in January 14 of 1970 the Biafran people declared surrender in view of the military and economic advantage that the government had. Finally, Biafra stops being called like that and agreed to accept the decree of the 12 states that the Nigerian government imposed at the begging.[3]

Due to this war, the country learnt that the unification of the territory is the best way to achieve prosperity, but the rivalries between the cultures didn't cease.

The war and the discovery of oil wells in the south of the country created resentments between the north and the south, because when the oil in the south was discovered in the decade of the 60's the government decided to settle near them and exploiting it, giving prosperity to this region but forgetting about the development of the North.

The end of the Biafra War wasn't the end of the Nigeria conflicts, on the contrary, this civil war was followed by several coups between 1976 and 1983, the majority ended in dictatorships, this situation was accompanied by ethnics and religious conflicts between Muslims and Christians all over the country, some of these struggles still occur today.

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[3] A. Atofarati, The Nigerian Civil War, Causes, Strategies, And Lessons Learnt. Staff College, 1992.

1.2.- Conflicts between Muslims and Christians

Although the UN includes Boko Haram and other similar groups as a new actor in the International System, this isn't absolutely correct, because Nigeria has a large history of outbreaks of violence between Muslims and Christians, even before the country was considered an independent state.

Historically in Nigeria, the northern regions have been occupied by Muslim groups; the Southeast is mostly Christian and in the Southwest Christians, Muslims and groups with traditional African religions live[4].

Even though, there have always been territorial and cultural identity struggles in Nigeria, the North of the country is the most affected area by these conflicts and this gets worst after the Biafra War, because the resources and education began to be distributed in an unequal way, and almost all this money was sent to the southern development. This issue increased the poverty of the North; the Muslims are convinced that it is related to a religious fact too, and they are discriminated even when they occupied the country first; thus, a lot of Muslims attacks on Christians are being triggered. The Christians got resentment because of these attacks and responded with more violence; this cycle has been repeated throughout the Nigerian history.

Since the first presidential elections in 1999, Nigeria has practically taken turns between Muslim and Christian governments; this helped to reduce the coups and generated a relative political stability. Nevertheless, the Muslim faction of the government has less representatives than the Christian faction due to the lack of education (and by this, we mean western traditional education) of the Muslims, and the low number of Muslim children that have the opportunity to go to school. These poor representations of the Muslim Nigerian population just help to increase the inconformity of the Islamic population; they felt that the government had forgotten them socially, politically and economically and that's the reason they are stuck in poverty.

1.3.- Boko Haram's creation

In reaction to inequality against the Muslim population, in 2002, in Borno, a little town in the north of Nigeria, a group called Boko Haram was born; this name could be translated in English as "western education is sin". Created by the Islamic preacher Muhammad Yusuf; at the beginning Boko Haram was a Salafist group, this means that it looked for a purist return to the precepts dictated by the Coran, the Sunna and a creation of an Islamic State in a nonviolent way in the long term.

Following this traditional branch of Islam, the group created a headquarter in Borno; they built schools where traditional Muslim education were imparted and mosque in there, besides dealing with helping Muslims who lacked basic survival resources such as drinking water and food; all of this in order to gain the support of the Muslim population of Nigeria.

In 2003, a year after the creation of the group, they began to recollect rudimentary weapons (razors and small weapons) used by the peasants who supported them, moreover, they started to recruit teenagers and young people to militate in the group, in the schools

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[4] Escolapau. *Informe sobre conflictos o estallidos de la violencia en Nigeria.* (Barcelona: Escola de Cultura de Pau, 2004).

they built; with these actions, Boko Haram started to structure itself like a "low profile guerrilla" that launched low-scale attacks against police stations and government agencies[5], still, since this year they started to change the non-violence philosophy and adopted an aggressive style, the government didn't see it like a real threat against the central government because the Nigerian army was more powerful and bigger than them. The state thought it was another outburst of inter-religious violence that will fade fast and ignored it.

Between 2003 and 2008 the group started to make alliances with Al Qaeda who provided them with big weapons and bombs, this alliance is stable until 2009 when the Nigerian government discovered that the group have been buying sophisticated weapons to the yihadist group; and in a successful military operation, they assaulted the main operation center of the group and arresting some important member, including Yusuf, their leader, who was murdered by the police a few weeks after his arrest.

After the military attack, and knowing they were wanted by the police and the army, they started to shelter with some yihadist groups such as Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb and Al Shabab in Somalia. This helped to strengthen ties between these organizations, and affected the modus operandi of the Nigerian group that evolved "making a qualitative leap in its radicalization, yihadist militancy and sophistication of their terrorist tactics"[6].

In 2010 the groups kept a low profile and strengthened in secret.

Since 2011, Boko haram began to increase their violence and terror employed by the Organization in the implementation of their attacks, they no longer used machetes and knives as weapons because they get the resources to buy more sophisticated weapons as immolation pumps, since based on the actions of other yihadist groups, they used to kidnap and extort to obtain more profits, and usually their targets were foreigners; the structure of their attacks also improved, they started using more sophisticated war tactics in order to cause a greater effect on the targeted population, the group began to make settlements in the villages they attacked, which enabled them to expand physically by all Northern Nigeria. Since they began to create links with "terrorist" groups, Boko Haram passes to have a pyramidal order to a cell network connected by a main group, whose leader is the successor of Yusuf Shekau. Its list of targets to attack increased; they attacked not only police stations and Government buildings, even though, with the radicalization of the group's doctrine they started to attack churches and Christian schools, mainly female schools, justifying those attacks with religious discourses.

1.4.- Boko Haram and the Nigerian political panorama

Thanks to the power acquired in recent years, Boko Haram now acts as an armed group on the fringes of the law and at the same time as a political actor, because it makes pressure violently so that the policy will accommodate to the needs of the Group.

An example of this is that after it was announced that current President Goodluck Jonathan would throw again to be re-elected in the elections of February of the next year, Boko Haram began to launch repeated threats of launching a coup against the Christian President and build an Islamic State at all costs; These somewhat radical threats were thrown with the intention of showing the displeasure of the organization by the fact that there

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[5] D. Garriga Guitart, Grupo terrorista Boko Haram, 2004.
[6] D. Garriga Guitart, Grupo terrorista Boko Haram…

is a possibility that a Christian leader remains in power another period when " the Muslims, amounting to nearly half of the population, became accustomed to a ' rotation' system in which the Presidency is alternated between Muslims and Christians, for this "the organization believes that it is necessary to raise a Muslim to power who do respect the customs of Islam and shelter best the interests of the inhabitants of Northern Nigeria; This puts President Goodluck in a delicate situation, because if he surrendered in its attempt to get re-elected, it will be as if the power of Boko Haram has at this time on the central Government, while if it launches re-election run the risk that, if elected, Boko Haram fulfilled its threats.

At the international level, Nigeria has had to strengthen its relations with Cameroon, because currently the Group has achieved over the Mexican border and creating bases in the neighboring country, since there also has presence ethnicity Kanuri, to which belong the majority of the members of the organization.

Boko Haram also acts as an obstacle to the current Government and hence for the President's re-election plans, because it removes popularity the Government among the people, who doubt every day over the effectiveness of a ruler who has not been able to disintegrate or at least to reduce the power of the group, who already make Government in Northern Nigeria. At the same time leave exposed the little preparation and resources from the Nigerian army who already exceed in armament and people.

In summary, Boko Haram at this time is an obstacle and also a rival power to the central Government that at this time, has a reputation for being weak, not only to the civilian population, but in the international system, thanks to Boko Haram several victories against the central Government. That exposed not only a inadequate political system full of cracks, but a corrupt and disunited Government with an army that does not have enough resources or preparation.[7] Boko Haram at this time is an obstacle and also a rival power to the central Government that at this time, has a reputation for being weak, not only to the civilian population, but in the international system, thanks to Boko Haram several victories against the central Government.

2.- Methodology

We will do a case study through a qualitative method whose analysis will be structured through and observation technique.

The research will be divided in four main parts. First we will define the "new wars" and name the ten variables that characterize it according to[8] and explain why Nigeria could meet the characteristics of a "21st century war".

Second, we are going to explain the Nigerian conflict with the ten variables given by[9] which are: the number of conflicts, the level of intensity, victims, the spatial context, actors, causes and objectives, tactics and instruments of combat, financing or economy of conflict, the pattern of regional conflicts, and the relationship between conflict and security. In addition, we are going to establish relations between them to have a solid idea about how

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[7] M. E. Navas, Cómo se volvió tan poderoso Boko Haram. BBC mundo. 09 de febrero de 2015.
[8] C. García, Las "nuevas guerras" del siglo XXI. Tendencias de la conflictividad…
[9] C. García, Las "nuevas guerras" del siglo XXI. Tendencias de la conflictividad…

each one is present in the Nigerian war; third, we will explain how this war affect the trade relationship between Latin America and Nigeria; finally we make some briefs conclusions where we will say if in fact, the Nigerian war is a post-cold war conflict.

3.- Results

According to Kaldor, conflicts that have occurred since the end of the cold war are characterized by being multicasual (they have several causes, some hidden, since its gestation or that adhere to the conflict in the course of this), plural (States are no longer the only actors, and now there are two or more actors belonging to different categories), multidimensional (the factors that go into its creation development and completion come from different fields and are displayed in various ways) and changing (they evolve and transform throughout their development), however it is difficult to find consistency in all "new wars" that could help identify them as such and not as something different[10].

For this reason, we will use ten variables that are affected in all of them and according to García[11] might help to outline a pattern in contemporary conflicts. These ten variables are: the number of conflicts, the level of intensity, victims, the spatial context, actors, causes and objectives, tactics and instruments of combat, financing or economy of conflict, the pattern of regional conflicts, and the relationship between conflict and security In Nigeria there is a conflict between an insurgent group called Boko Haram and the state since the beginning of the XXI century, we will analyze this conflict considering the above 10 variables, and as a result of this analysis we will conclude by saying if this conflict is or not an example of a "new war".

4.- Level of intensity of the conflict

Between 2010 and 2014, the war in Nigeria had left a total of 1,700 including militaries and civilians[12]. In addition, at the beginning of 2015, Amnesty International denounced a massacre by Boko Haram that left around 2,000 dead[13] This leads to think that so far the Nigerian conflict is between 3000 and 4000 dead in five years of war, massacres, confrontations between sides, extortions, kidnappings and murders.

Although this statistics are close to the pre-cold war wars figures, stands out that this number of casualties has been reached with periodically attacks that left between 37 and 40 dead (with the exception of the massacre given in January, previously mentioned) and not in just one or two big clashes as it used to happen earlier, therefore we should say that in this variable the evidence leads to ambiguous results but it leans more toward of a war of the twenty-first century.

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[10] M. Kaldor, Las nuevas guerras. Violencia organizada en la era global (Barcelona: Tusquets. 2001).
[11] C. García, Las "nuevas guerras" del siglo XXI. Tendencias de la conflictividad…
[12] D. Garriga Guitart, Grupo terrorista Boko Haram…
[13] A. Valderrama, Boko Haram pudo haber matado a 2.000 personas en Nigeria CNN en español. 10 de enero de 2015.

4.1.- The victims and the spatial context of the current Nigerian conflict

Unlike the world wars, in the new wars, the trend is that civilians killed or affected by the conflict is greater than the number of soldiers killed in battle. Indeed, out of the fatal victims of conflicts, 90% are civilians and 10% military, this adding civilians who have been displaced by the violence, by the end of 2014, there were 59.5 million refugees around the world because of armed conflict.[14]

From 2010 until the conflict in the northeast of Nigeria has left 1.5 million internally displaced persons and has 230,000 people forced to flee to neighbouring countries such as Cameroon, Chad and Niger[15]. In addition to the aforementioned dead, and over 200 girls and women abducted by Boko Haram that were recently released, brings us to affirm, that ultimately, the Nigerian conflict complies with this feature have been more civilians affected by the conflict that the casualties on both sides. This occurs because many times one of the two sides take civilians as a human shield for not being attacked.

A feature of the post-cold war era conflict is that Interstate wars have ceased to be trend, giving way to a new generation of armed confrontations that mostly occur in the context of civil wars which can be described as: "armed conflict delivered within the borders of a country between different factions articulated by ethnic, religious, or political factors often associated with economic interests."[16]

With spatial context we also refer to the places where confrontations are already not only limited to fields of battle, but also in villages and towns, which is another important factor in the change of the role of the victims in a conflict.

The role of borders has also changed dramatically, as these have begun to fade.

> "In many cases, these internal conflicts are regionalized or internationalize, extending its political, economic and social impact beyond the borders of the State in which the conflict occurs and involving other external actors as well participate indirectly supporting - strategic, logistic, weapons - groups in combat or directly intervening in processes of mediation, through humanitarian intervention or armed intervention"[17]

This is a key point to analyze the conflict between Boko Haram and the Nigerian state, because it meets all the above mentioned points. In the first place several actors in the international system, already recognize the conflict in the North of the country as a civil war occurs between the State and civil society groups also initiated and encouraged by mainly ethnic and religious factors, but which may have hidden financial interests with respect to earnings given by oil to the country. It should be remembered that Nigeria is one of the largest exporters of crude oil in Africa sub-Saharan, therefore it fits the definition of civil conflict previously used.

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[14] ACNUR, Informe anual del Alto Comisionado de Naciones Unidas para los Refugiados (Ginebra: ONU. 2014).

[15] Xinhua. UE impulsa ayuda humanitaria para áreas afectadas por Boko Haram. Spanish People Daily. 18 de junio de 2015.

[16] K. Perez de Armiño.; M. Areizaga y N. Vázquez, Conflictos civiles. Obtenido de Diccionario de Acción Humanitaria y cooperación al desarrollo:. 19 de junio de 2015, en http://www.dicc.hegoa.ehu.es/listar/mostrar/39

[17] C. García, Las "nuevas guerras" del siglo XXI. Tendencias de la conflictividad…

Secondly, the "military bases" of Boko Haram are located in villages and in the vicinity of the border with Cameroon on both sides; there is where the confrontations take place with the army in the majority of cases, in addition, many of the attacks launched by the belligerent Group occurred in villages and civilian communities, it has never known a confrontation between the army and the Organization in what is properly called a battle field or a delimited territory that has a low amount of civilians.

Third, we see how indeed, the conflict has managed to blur the border between Cameroon and Nigeria thanks to ethnic diversity shared by these countries and already has been extended to the border between Cameroon and Chad. In addition, despite considered a civil war, various stakeholders have been instrumental in the development of the conflict, among them we can find different jihadists groups from around the world, the UN, the European Union who has repeatedly sent economic and humanitarian aid to areas of Northern Nigeria that have been affected by the conflict[18] and the State of Chad, who served as a mediator in negotiations between Nigeria and Boko Haram for the release of the 200 kidnapped students and a possible truce which were discussed in October 2014.

We thus conclude that this variable is clearly presented in the Nigerian conflict as the spatial context is totally different from the classical wars and the civil wars that occurred before the cold war.

4.2.- Actors behavior in the Nigerian war: causes and objectives

Here is given one of the main changes in the dynamics of the wars after the cold war as all conflicts given after this time have similar characteristic, which in contrast to the old confrontations where States were the exclusive actors in the wars; currently, they are increasingly more and more non-State actors involved directly or indirectly in armed conflicts, including insurgent groups, international institutions and civil action groups, we have among others.

The dynamics have changed because in the cold war there were conflicts between civilians, insurgent groups and States. However, in the post-cold war era, the number of actors involved directly in the conflict has increased, either because there are one or more belligerent groups that attack not only the State but also have rivalries between them, or because there is an armed group that expands to the point of being faced with two States that share a border. Likewise, the distinction between civil and fighters have started to blur, making it more difficult to win a war due to the fact that it is not known who has a goal and who does not.

In addition, actors who support the conflict do that because of several reasons: one of them is their ideology that fits with any of the parties of the conflict or a confrontation in some place of the world is useful for their economic or political interest.

This diversity of actors, make the war asymmetrical, because one usually has greater military power and greater amount of fighters than his opponent.

The Nigerian case is a perfect example of this, as Boko Haram began as a group formed by civilians of the Muslim religion in order to improve their quality of life and those around them, it was gradually transformed into a belligerent organization that just putting at

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[18] Xinhua. UE impulsa ayuda humanitaria para áreas afectadas por Boko Haram…

the service of larger organizations, as the Islamic State which funded the weaponry and training, encouraging and strengthening the conflict, since the presence of this group in Nigeria can be strategic when it comes to expand their territory by the region of North Africa, rich in oil, minerals and gemstone, which can be sold on the black market for economic gain.

With the expansion of Nigeria by the border that remains to the North of the country, bordering Cameroon, the group not only has to face the Nigerian army, but has to join forces to confront Cameroon, which, although it is not very powerful, is one enemy of Boko Haram, this in addition to military aid that sends the European Union and the United Nations to these countries which have shown that they are not capable of beating this armed actor by themselves. Therefore, it is not an exclusive issue of an armed actor against a State, we see that in the conflict several armies and various armed groups are benefited from this violent actions.

Here, we actually see an asymmetry in power, but it is a particular case, as in this war Boko Haram is which really has the advantage, due to the fact that they have more militants than the army of Nigeria and Cameroon together. In addition, they are funded by Al Qaeda which makes them to have more sophisticated weapons than the militia of any African country. This is a rare case, due to the fact that having no State support makes armed groups have less number of weapons or less sophistications than the State-armies.

In the post-Cold War conflicts the reasons why wars start are cultural (ethnic, religious, national or tribal), according to a study made by Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, of the non-State conflicts triggered between 2001 and 2010, a 60% were caused by ethnic and religious communities.[19]

Besides these motifs, in many cases, economic interests are disguised as a war in defense of identity; and they end up being even more important in wars.

The current Nigerian conflict has religious motifs, in this case, the members of Boko Haram (who present themselves as Muslim despite attacking populations of this religion), attack Christian communities under the banner of putting back their pure religion and "kicking out of their country those who practice an impure religion"

A socioeconomic resentment is hidden due to the southern part of the country's possession of the highest number of oil wells of the country. This part of the country also has the highest level of education since the north has refused to receive western education and they keep being ruled by the Islamic traditional educative norms. These are the two main factors that generated an unequal growth of both parts of the country; while the south is developing and is growing rapidly, the north is lagging.

Numerous experts believe that Boko Haram's plan, more than being religious is about a desiring of expansion to the south and controlling the areas of oil wells, having them for their "tussle against Islam".

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[19] SIPRI. Armaments, disarmament and international security (Estocolmo: Stockolm International Peace Research Instiute, 2012)

4.3.- Tactics and combat tools in Nigerian conflict: how are they funded?

Regarding the strategies of combat, the territory is controlled by controlling the population. This is made in two ways: the first one is terrorizing the population, so it is subjected or forcing certain population (mainly different ethnicities) to displace so they can have their territory. This is made by using some techniques more and more frequent in different groups used by the belligerent groups called "terrorists" or guerrillas. These techniques are made in an undifferentiated way, which makes it harder to differentiate the groups.

Since the end of the cold war, the modality of internationalization of non-state groups has also been popularized and most of these organizations are hard to dissolve precisely because they are transnational, this means that, although they disappear in an State, they will keep existing in any other nearly country.

Because many of the participants in armed forces are not controlled by the State, they do not have legal access to the legal market of arms (limited to the States and security companies authorized by it) they recur to the robbery of state arms or the purchase of low caliber weapons in the black market. The weapons from the army are now under the technologic era, and for this reason they are much more sophisticated than the ones found in the black market. However, this does not guarantee their victory because there are other factors influencing in a battle[20].

This fits the techniques and arms used by Boko Haram and the Nigerian army. The former has most of their bases in Christian and Muslim villages in which they have moved out their inhabitants so they can have control of them. This has been their method of expansion since 2010. Even though Boko Haram has used sophisticated arms such as bombs and rifles, most of their arms are actually small and the few they possess have been stolen to the Nigerian and Cameroon army. They get them through loans made by developed countries such as USA.

Unlike the wars occurred in the twentieth century where the economy was a central part which served the wars, and most of the times it was helping the countries that were in an economic crisis, the current economies (mainly those of the countries in war) were characterized by their decentralization, which instead of getting stronger by the conflict, they collapse because of it, which make the countries become dependent of the external funding. In addition, the corruption, the de-monopolization which was before exclusive to the governments and even the criminalization of the state when it commits violent acts to civilians not involved in the fighting. Furthermore, financing resources such as the robbery, the abductions, the extortions, the plunders, the drug trafficking, and the commerce in the black market are heightened. These are the most common ways in which non-state armed actors get resources.

All these ways of funding have been used by Boko Haram such as the abduction of 200 Christian girls in which they asked for an exaggerated amount of money, the robbery of different villages, the plunders to the army to obtain arms and ammunitions, and illegal traffic of precious stones which are found in the northern part of Niger.

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[20] C. García, Las "nuevas guerras" del siglo XXI. Tendencias de la conflictividad…

The Nigerian State is also characterized by having a weak and decentralized economy which depends mostly of foreign Nigerian remittances, the support of the European Union through loans and a reduction of their external debt and humanitarian help sent by the ONG. Without this external aid it would have been impossible for Nigeria to withstand the necessary expenses to sustain the war against Boko Haram; despite being one of the richest countries of oil and being one of the main exporters of crude to the European Union, the profits gained by this resource are not reflected by the country's GDP since most of the oil wells have been privatized and sold to multinationals who gain the most for their exploitation. The economic weakness is also because of the high rates of corruption.

4.4.- Relation between Regional conflict pattern and security in Nigeria

With the end of the cold war, an increase of security in the international system was to be expected, as it was believed that the confrontation of two world powers with nuclear weapons was the main cause of the people's feeling of insecurity, however, the result was different and the insecurity increased due to the higher instability in the politial systems of many countries. This is because there was not a preparation for the changes that have to be done in a global level regarding the solution of conflicts, as the States are still being addressed as the main actors, while the non-state actors become a minor role, and they should have the same priority than the combatant states. This insecurity sensation is more clearly in the zones of turmoil. As it was explained before, based on the "zones of peace, zones of turmoil" theory, the conflicts are not equally distributed for everyone and there are zones where the persistence and the amount of conflicts is higher than in other zones where a relative peace lives. Although there are many points of turmoil, the biggest is Africa, most of the conflicts occur between 2001 and 2010. The zone a country is located influences a lot in their propensity to have conflicts, mainly in their peripheries were most of the times the cause of the conflicts is the lack of means of the population. Nigeria, is found in this turmoil zone, thus is prone to develop conflicts with the characteristic of the wars of the twenty-first century.

In fact, one of the main issues when dissolving groups such as Boko Haram is that neither the government nor the International System as a whole, have a resolution of conflicts program which is suitable with the new actors and the new dynamics which have been developing since the beginning of the century, as they keep dealing with the new conflicts as they were classic conflicts which have not the same level of complexity. While this situation continues, the Nigerian population will continue to have a constant feeling of insecurity due to ongoing conflicts in their country.

5.- Nigeria-Latin-American relation

Currently, Nigeria is the main ally of Brazil in Africa; in 2013 these two countries signed a commercial agreement to boost the investments for both of them; in addition, the Brazilian national oil company (Petrobras) has been present in Nigeria since 14 years ago as they have exploitation wells in the sub-Saharan country.

Even though these two countries have an encouraging commercial history between 2009 and 2013, the exportations of Nigeria to Brazil decreases, going from 9000 million dollars to 8400 million dollars, this is due to the worsening of the conflict during these years and for that matter the Nigerian government had to invest more in the military area at the expense of doing exportations and importations. On the other hand, the investments of Brazil

in Nigeria is being kept thanks to the oil wells found in the southern part of the country, this area has not been as badly infected by the conflict as in the northern part of the country[21]

Brazil has also been a strategic ally for Nigeria, regarding international support including the European Union, it has rallied to the cause of the conflict and has sent humanitarian aid, and has interceded to the UN asking for more attention for the Nigerian issues.

So far, Brazil and Peru are the most affected countries in Latin-America by Boko Haram issues since they have a close relation with Nigeria; for this reason, in many occasions they have served as intermediaries in the International System to ask for help for the African country, and in the case the country came to extend to the southern part of Nigeria, the actions of these countries in Nigeria would be gravely affected and a commercial relation with this country would be untenable. By sending humanitarian and economical supporting, these countries are actually protecting their investments at all costs at the same time they are strengthening their relations with the African country, which has one of the highest oil reserves in Africa. For this reason, despite having knowledge of the seriousness of the conflict occurring between Boko Haram and Nigeria, and the impacts over the economy of this country, both Latin-American countries are willing to keep going with the commercial agreements they have signed with Nigeria, since their profits are not yet affected by the belligerent actions of Boko Haram, this does not mean that the situation cannot change in the future.

Conclusions

After analyzing the nine variables chosen for this case and considering that the Nigerian conflict meets most of them, we can see that in fact, this is part of the so called "wars of the twenty-first century.

The feeling of insecurity has increased after the cold war, mainly, because of the lack of preparation of the government for the changes of the dynamics of the conflicts, and this is precisely what has made it difficult for the central Nigerian government to confront the war they are facing at this moment. Since they have not the necessary tools to confront a conflict of this kind and they do not know yet how to face such a powerful non state armed organization as Boko Haram. This, together with the corruption and the links of some of the State employees with the group that show the weakness and the fragmentation of this government, moreover the carelessness of the country which decided to deal with this issue when it had already reached a high complexity level, they have delayed the reduction of the conflict.

The solution for reaching the end of the conflict, is not spending on the military, because even if Boko Haram were to disappear, another warlike group would appear in the northern part of the country motivated by the poverty, the lack of opportunities, the inequality regarding the redistribution of resources between the north and the south in which more resentments would generate, mainly religious, since those who are benefited the most with this redistribution are the Christian of the southwest of Nigeria; this has already been demonstrated numerous times since the independence of this country, since it has suffered

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[21] Emol, Presidenta de Brasil firma acuerdo comercial durante visita a Nigeria. Emol, 24 de febrero de 2013.

constantly explosions of religious and ethnic violence between both zones, for this reason Nigeria should focus on the improvement of the distribution of resources and on making social programs that can both respect Muslim educational traditions and generate more opportunities for the youngsters of the north of the country, given that until the north equals the development of the South, there will still be groups, such as Boko Haram that are looking for power through the use of guns. In manner of short and long term solutions, both, the international system and the Nigerian government should accept that treating traditionally this issue doesn't work and they should start looking for alternative ways of counteracting the attacks of this group. However, their priority should be the guarantee of the wellbeing of the citizens that are affected by this conflict, also, along with nearby countries, they should generate help for the refugees and make educational programs for the children, taking into account that they are the main target of the attacks and that they are the most recruited for the group previously mentioned.

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